

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

S E C R E T STATE 081481

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y: OMISSION LINE 1 PARA 1

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1, 3

TAGS: PARM, UR

SUBJECT: NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS' CONFERENCE

1. PLEASE ADVISE MFA (MOROKHOV AND/OR TIMERBAEV, IF AVAILABLE) AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF STATUS OF US CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER KEY NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS AND USG INTEREST IN EARLY EXPLORATORY MULTILATERAL MEETING, ALONG LINES INDICATED IN PARAS 2 TO 12.

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2. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN CON-

SULTATIONS WITH ALL THE KEY SUPPLIERS REGARDING THE ILLUSTRATIVE COMMON EXPORT POLICIES IN OUR AIDE MEMOIRE AND REGARDING THE US PROPOSAL FOR A SUPPLIERS CONFERENCE. ALL OF THEM, INCLUDING FRANCE, HAVE NOW RESPONDED THAT THEY ARE POSITIVELY DISPOSED TO A CONFERENCE. INITIAL REACTIONS OF THE COUNTRIES WE HAVE APPROACHED OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS FOLLOW.

3. OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE UK AND FRG HAVE BEEN FAIRLY GENERAL IN NATURE, BUT THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT COMMON EXPORT POLICIES AMONG THE KEY SUPPLIERS IN THE AREAS IDENTIFIED IN THE US PROPOSAL ARE URGENTLY NEEDED.

4. THE CANADIANS ARE VERY ANXIOUS FOR PROGRESS ON EXPORT POLICY COORDINATION. THEY ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN CONTROLLING THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGY AND ARE PREPARING A MODEL TRILATERAL (SUPPLIER/RECIPIENT/IAEA) SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT FOR POSSIBLE CONSIDERATION AT THE SUPPLIERS SECRET/EXDIS MEETING.

5. JAPAN HAS AGREED TO ATTEND THE SUPPLIERS MEETING BUT HAS NOT YET OFFERED SUBSTANTIVE REACTIONS TO THE US PROPOSALS.

6. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH FRANCE VIEWS THE NEED FOR COMMON POLICIES. IT HAS PROVIDED VIEWS ON PROPOSALS ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS. ON SUBSTANCE OF US FIVE POINTS, FRENCH HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH POINTS ONE, TWO AND FOUR. ON POINT TWO, FRENCH WOULD LIKE TO SEE SOME FLEXIBILITY TO PERMIT BILATERAL SAFEGUARDS IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES. ON POINT THREE, FRENCH HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH US SUGGESTED CONSTRAINTS; FRENCH SUGGESTED, AS ALTERNATIVE, SAFEGUARDS ON BOTH SUPPLIED EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY, AND FACILITIES REPLICATED FROM THAT TECHNOLOGY; THEY INDICATED SOME INTEREST IN MULTINATIONAL APPROACH. ON POINT FIVE, FRENCH BELIEVE AGREEMENT ON SPECIAL CONSTRAINTS ON EXPORTS TO SENSITIVE AREAS SHOULD BE HANDLED BILATERALLY WITH OTHER CONCERNED SUPPLIERS, AT DISCRETION OF EACH SUPPLIER.

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7. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS A GENERAL DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS AMONG THE KEY SUPPLIERS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE CONSEQUENTLY BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE REACHED A STAGE IN OUR CONSULTATIONS WHERE WE SHOULD TAKE THE NEXT STEP TOWARD SUBSTANTIVE AND MULTILATERAL EXCHANGES OF VIEWS,

AND WE ARE PREPARED TO JOIN AN EXPLORATORY MULTILATERAL MEETING IN LONDON BEFORE THE END OF THIS MONTH. IN OUR VIEW, THE OBJECTIVE OF THE EXPLORATORY MEETING WOULD BE TO CLARIFY EXISTING AREAS OF CONSENSUS, IDENTIFY AREAS REMAINING TO BE DISCUSSED AND CONSIDER SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS TO ACHIEVE THAT PURPOSE.

8. FRANCE HAS AGREED TO ATTEND SUCH AN EXPLORATORY MEETING, BUT HAS ASKED FOR AND IS RECEIVING CONFIRMATION OF THE US VIEW THAT (A) OUR MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL AND INFORMAL IN CHARACTER, (B) EVENTUAL DECISIONS WILL BE BY COMMON AGREEMENT AND COULD PROVIDE FOR EXCEPTIONS TO OR RELEASE FROM AGREEMENTS MADE, AND (C) WE DO NOT CONTEMPLATE BUILDING A STANDING INSTITUTION TO ENFORCE CONFERENCE DECISIONS. WE WISH TO STRESS, IN PARTICULAR, OUR SENSE OF THE FRENCH CONCERN THAT PARTICIPANTS WHICH ARE NOT PARTY TO THE NPT WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF UNDUE PRESSURE. WE THEREFORE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION OF NPT ADHERENCE OF SUPPLIERS SHOULD NOT BECOME AN ISSUE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS.

9. WE ARE ALSO TELLING THE FRENCH THAT WHILE WE WILL TAKE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT THEIR POSITION THAT THE COMMITMENTS THEY ARE PREPARED TO MAKE AT AN EVENTUAL CONFERENCE (PARA 6) REPRESENT THE LIMIT OF THEIR POSSIBILITIES, WE AND THE OTHER FIVE SUPPLIERS WILL WISH TO HAVE OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS CONSIDERED BY ALL SEVEN PARTICIPANTS, AND THAT IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION REMAIN TO BE DISCUSSED ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS. WE CANNOT COMMIT OTHER PARTICIPANTS TO AGREE WITH FRENCH POSITIONS, BUT WILL SUPPORT THEIR VIEW THAT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED BY COMMON ACCORD.

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10. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO HOST AN EXPLORATORY MEETING IN LONDON ON APRIL 23, THAT IS IMMEDIATELY AFTER WE WILL BE DISCUSSING PREPARATIONS FOR THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE IN LONDON, AND IT WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS DIRECTLY REGARDING SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS. BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED AMOUNT OF TIME AVAILABLE FOR AN EXPLORATORY MEETING BEFORE THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE REACTION TO THIS SUGGESTION. US WOULD ENVISAGE TWO PEOPLE AT THE TABLE, WITH OTHER ADVISERS AS REQUIRED, REPRESENTING EACH PARTICIPATING SUPPLIER. AN OFFICIAL AT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL WOULD HEAD OUR TEAM.

11. IN DISCUSSION OF THIS APPROACH WITH THE SOVIETS, YOU MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AS

APPROPRIATE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE SUPPLIERS NOW HAVE A STRONG BASIS FOR PRODUCTIVE CONSULTATIONS ABOUT THE STATUS OF EFFORTS TO COORDINATE NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES. FURTHERMORE, WE BELIEVE THAT LAUNCHING EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL ACTION THIS MONTH IS RELEVANT TO SUPPLIERS' CONSIDERATION OF APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS AND CONDITIONS FOR PENDING NUCLEAR EXPORT CASES. FINALLY, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO HOLD A FULL-DELEDGED SUPPLIERS CONFERENCE UNTIL JUNE OR JULY, WE BELIEVE THAT AN INITIAL MEETING THIS MONTH WILL HELP PAVE THE WAY FOR EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL COORDINATION OF POLICIES AT A LATER STAGE.

12. YOU MAY MAKE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS AS APPROPRIATE. (A) WE BELIEVE THE PHASING OF OUR APPROACH -- FIRST, TO EXPLORE MULTILATERALLY THE VIEWS OF ALL SUPPLIERS (INCLUDING THOSE OF FRANCE), AND THEN TO EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF AN EVENTUAL CONFERENCE -- IS MOST LIKELY TO ACCOMPLISH OUR OBJECTIVE OF EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL COORDINATION OF NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES. (B) AN EXPLORATORY MEETING WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE WILL EFFICIENTLY CONVEY TO ALL KEY SUPPLIERS THE DEGREE OF EXISTING CONSENSUS AND THE POLICY AREAS MOST AMENABLE TO EARLY NEGOTIATION AND AGREEMENT. (C) ONE DESIRABLE RESULT OF THE APRIL MEETING WOULD BE TO AGREE ON FURTHER PREPARATIONS TOWARD REACHING COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS INCLUDING A CONFERENCE IN JUNE OR JULY. FYI. IF FRANCE
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CHOOSES NOT TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE (WHILE ATTENDING THE APRIL MEETING) WE BELIEVE IT WILL BE AMENABLE TO ALTERNATIVE MODALITIES FOR EFFECTIVELY HARMONIZING NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES. IF WE ARE UNABLE IN THE END TO HOLD THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE, WE WOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS AND ATTEMPT TO REACH COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS ON A BILATERAL OR A SMALL GROUP BASIS. HOWEVER, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE PREFERABLE COURSE REMAINS A MULTILATERAL CONFERENCE. END FYI.

13. IF SOVIETS RAISE AGAIN QUESTION OF GDR PARTICIPATION, YOU SHOULD REITERATE US POSITION THAT THE MEETINGS BE LIMITED TO MAJOR EXPORTERS OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. IF PRESSED FOR POSITIVE RESPONSE, YOU SHOULD EXPRESS PERSONAL VIEW THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF CONSULTATIONS AND COORDINATION WITH SUCH SMALLER SUPPLIERS OUTSIDE OF PROPOSED CONFERENCE, AND THAT REOPENING PARTICIPATION ISSUES AT THIS LATE STAGE WOULD BE LIKELY TO RESULT IN STRONG PRESSURES FOR ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS. FYI. UK AND FRG HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED DUTCH PARTICIPATION, THEY ARE AWARE OF SOVIET SUPPORT OF GDR PARTICIPATION, AND THEY HAVE AGREED TO

LIMIT PARTICIPATION AT LEAST IN APRIL. IN ADDITION,
FRANCE HAS MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF ITALIAN AND SPANISH
PRESSURE TO ATTEND IF PARTICIPATION QUESTION SHOULD BE
REOPENED. END FYI.

14. FOR ALL INFO ADDRESSEES: SIMILAR APPROACH IS BEING
MADE BY DEPARTMENT TO OTHER SUPPLIERS. PLEASE TREAT
ABOVE AS FYI. KISSINGER

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